Capt. John Rogers

Gazette of the United States.

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THE TABLET.

No. CVIII.

THE Editor accidentally met with the following Eſſay, and thinks the remarks are of ſuch a nature as deſerve publication.

FOR THE TABLET.

"There are certain ſituations where ſuppoſed evils are productive of much good."

A National debt attaches many citizens to the government, who, by their numbers, wealth and influence, contribute more perhaps to its preſervation than a body of ſoldiers. This obſervation has been made by every one. A national debt not only prolongs the exiſtence of the form of government; but it has a direct tendency to produce a wiſe and juſt adminiſtration of it: This effect is not equally obvious. Every meaſure tending to public good adds ſomething to the ſecurity of the debt. It is for the advantage of the creditors to have that public, which is their debtor, become rich. The ſame reaſon applies to the revenue laws. The creditors will wiſh to bring into the treaſury the moſt money with the leaſt poſſible burden, or even diſguſt to the people. This is equally true of the public expences. This body of men will ſee the public money ſquandered with pain and apprehenſion. Their influence will be exerted in ſupport of a ſyſtem of frugality. It ſeems to be manifeſt that the creditors will deſire to ſee the public good promoted, and of courſe will dread an oppreſſive and prodigal adminiſtration. It only remains to calculate the influence that this body of men will have, firſt, upon the public opinion, and next upon the government itſelf. In this country, they are powerful by their numbers; by their property; by their patriotiſm; for it was that which made great numbers of them public creditors. They are juſtly denominated by the Secretary "*enlightened men.*" Their diſperſed ſituation enables them to give a ſtrong impulſe to the public mind in different parts of the country at the ſame inſtant. Intereſt will wake when patriotiſm ſleeps. As theſe perſons have a common intereſt, and that correſponds with the general intereſt of the ſociety, ſelf love is combined with the love of our country. They become watchmen, and continue ſuch, when other citizens, leſs intereſted, relax their attention to public affairs for the ſake of their private concerns. Much has been ſaid in favour of republican jealouſy. The creditors can never have an intereſt againſt liberty—for tyranny and public credit cannot exiſt together. Heaven grant that the union and the public liberty may laſt forever. If any expedient within the reach of human wiſdom can preſerve thoſe bleſſings, it is the unchanging intereſt, which a powerful body of the beſt and wiſeſt citizens will have in their ſafe keeping—who cannot neglect, and who will not betray the truſt—whom government cannot do without, and who cannnot do without government.

Rome fell, an almoſt unreſiſting pray to a deſpot—why? Roman liberty, as it was miſnamed, was a burden to every body, except to a few who called their right to oppreſs all others, *liberty*—being made alternately the inſtrument and victim of tyranny, the weary world found even deſpotiſm, a pillow of repoſe. But if the beſt citizens in Rome and in the provinces had really enjoyed freedom, and their property had depended on the ſecurity of the government, they would have abhorred any change, and moſt of all a change from liberty to tyranny. Cæſar would have been watched and obliged to ſeek fame in the Senate, or in the field, under their orders.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

BY examples we are conſtantly taught, that of all the ſubjects which engroſs any ſhare of our attention, there are few on which we can reaſon with ſo little certainty as on the contingent events involved in every political ſyſtem; or in the whole train of human affairs, any, in which we are found to deduce ſuch wrong concluſions, or where we meet with greater diſappointments in the expectations we may have formed. In the common occurrences of life, our judgment aſſiſted by experience is generally a competent guide in conducting us to the objects we have in view; but the politician finds himſelf in a great meaſure without this advantage, and is often obliged to conſide in meaſures warranted only by preſumption, while he is frequently mortified in perceiving the reſult of ſuch plans as he thought were conceived in wiſdom and executed with prudence, prove the reverſe of all he had propoſed to himſelf.

I was led to theſe reflections by a view of the preſent ſtate of public affairs in this country, which appear ſo eſſentially to contradict the pleaſing reveries of the Philoſopher, and the ſanguine hopes of the well-meaning politician. I will not attempt to delineate the dark picture which we a ſhort time ſince preſented to the view of the world—the painful traces of that ſituation are not yet effaced from the reflecting mind—I will only revert to the dawn of that day when America appeared uſhering with majeſtic ſplendor thro the dark clouds which had ſo long enveloped her political hemiſphere—I will juſt recal to memory that æra ſo honorable in the annals of mankind which gave to her a form of government, not the offſpring of violence, but the reſult of calm and mature deliberation, directed by a view to the general good—and to that ſtill more glorious epoch when the hand which had ſo ably guided us thro a long and perilous war, was called forth to diſtribute the bleſſings of Peace, Liberty, and Independence—Enchanting Proſpect! The irradiating beams of pleaſure broke on us with a luſtre almoſt too dazzling—the Weſtern wilds of America reſounded in echoing her future glory—and the peaceful waters of the lakes aroſe into billows ſwelled by the general joy.

The happy unanimity and liberal policy which marked the proceedings of the firſt ſeſſion of Congreſs were calculated to confirm the moſt flattering anticipation. The ſecond was opened by a ſpeech from the head of the nation, pure as the fountain from which it iſſued, and urging in the moſt expreſſive language an early and earneſt attention to ſuch meaſures as would tend to eſtabliſh public credit on an immovable baſis, and reſtore to this country that reſpectability ſhe had loſt in her former weak and confuſed councils—To this end and in conformity to a prior vote of government, the Secretary of the Treaſury reported a funding ſyſtem, ſtamped with the capacity of its author, and conſtructed on thoſe great national principles which will alone lead us to national honor—but alas, every feature of this fair portrait, has been wantonly diſtorted, or lays in broken pieces at the ſeveral ſhrines of ambition, avarice, and vanity—and the pride of gaining a party at home, or of leading one here, is found paramount to a generous paſſion for advancing the public good, which is only ſeen to ariſe in the ſmoke of the incenſe, burnt at the altars of State policies.—Sad defalcations indeed in the aſpiring hopes entertained from the late political revolution in this country! The failure of public meaſures is not only to be attributed to the incapacity of rulers, but to the paſſions of ambition and reſentment, which are ſeldom under control in men veſted with power, and where the degree of reſponſibility cannot by any human contrivance be made adequate to the confidence repoſed.

It is from the miſapplication and perverſion of great talents we have every thing to fear—thoſe ſplendid abilities which are founded and intended by providence to exalt national fame and promote public happineſs, operate in a contrary direction when abuſed; and inſtead of procuring honor, wealth and ſecurity to ſociety, they involve in diſgrace and entail miſery and diſorder on future generations.

It is to be hoped that the great NECKAR, of America, with all that ſuperiority which belongs to a cool and determined mind, will be found proof againſt the barbed ſhafts of envy and intereſted ambition, and eventually triumph over both, in his noble purſuit of the public welfare.

The free uſe of the preſs is the birth-right of an American, which he will not conſent to diſpoſe of for a meſs of pottage; it is the fan which kindled that ſpark of liberty in this country, which is faſt ſpreading over all Europe, and bids fair to illuminate the whole world.

AMERICANUS.

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, MARCH 30.

The propoſition for aſſuming the ſtate debts under conſideration.

MR. WILLIAMSON obſerved that on a ſubject which had been handled by gentlemen of great information and abilities, he could not expect to offer new arguments, but as he had not heard the arguments hitherto advanced, and as he differed very much from the opinion of the late committee, it was a duty he owed to himſelf, to the State he had the honor to repreſent, and to the nation at large, to give ſome reaſons why he conceived that the debts of the ſeveral States ought not to be aſſumed—He obſerved that the national debt had been ſtated at 54 millions of dollars, the intereſt of that ſum is 3,240,000 dollars. The debts of the individual States had been ſtated at 25 millions, he believed a few millions might be added to that amount, for he knew that many citizens of North-Carolina had good claims againſt the State or the union not hitherto ſettled, and the State had inſtructed its delegates to obtain a longer time for exhibiting claims againſt the United States. He believed the citizens of Virginia had alſo many claims to exhibit, and when he conſidered the preſent claims of North-Carolina, were 6 or 7 millions of dollars; he thought it not improbable that the amount of the debts might be near 30 millions—He would call it for the preſent 25: The intereſt of that ſum is one million and a half. He thought that an annual tax of 3,240,000 dollars is a burthen ſufficient for the preſent abilities of the nation; he did not comprehend the new theory, viz. that a great burthen is more eaſily carried by making it greater; he heartily wiſhed a ſafe voyage to the political veſſel, but he had ſome apprehenſions that with the propoſed cargo ſhe may ſink at her anchors—He knew that the propoſed tax is ſmall when we conſider the number of our fellow-citizens, and compare it with the numbers in ſeveral kingdoms and the taxes paid by them; but the facility of raiſing taxes by impoſts and exciſes, is according to the number of inhabitants in any given ſpace.

In the city of Paris, where a vaſt body of people are collected within a ſmall ſpace, the inhabitants are ſuppoſed by one ſpecies of tax and another to pay 64 livres per head: in other parts of that kingdom it has been found difficult to collect 19 livres per head from the ſubjects, though France is well peopled and contains many conſiderable cities.

If three times as much could be collected in the city of Paris by impoſts duties and exciſes as in the other parts of France, he conceived that very ſmall ſums might be expected to ariſe in America from exciſes, and our impoſt muſt decreaſe in proportion as the induſtry and neceſſities of the people increaſe—He admited that direct taxes, as a land-tax or a poll-tax may be collected with ſome degree of certainty, but he wiſhed never to ſee direct taxes impoſed by the national government.

They are dangerous becauſe they have been the means of cruel oppreſſion; the Romans had never been completely miſerable till one of their emperors had the addreſs to introduce a capitation tax; he obſerved that his fellow-citizens in North-Carolina were not in general rich, few of them were ſo provident as to lay up money; for this reaſon while he was entruſted with their concerns he ſhould oppoſe every meaſure that looked towards direct taxation, he wiſhed never to ſee the day, when to ſatisfy a land tax, or a capitation tax, a poor man's cow or horſe might be taken from him on which he depended for the ſupport of helpleſs children. Let the State debts be once aſſumed and you muſt proceed; if your calculations are bad, and they are nothing more than pure conjecture, if they are bad, and the impoſt and exciſe does not come up to your expectations, the national honor muſt be preſerved, the debt is yours and muſt be paid, let the means be ever ſo hard. It will doubtleſs be obſerved that the intereſt of the State debts, muſt be paid either by the ſeveral States or by the union, and it is indifferent to the people under what name they make the payments. this argument he alledged was extremely fallacious, for after the national legiſlature has impoſed ſuch taxes as might become general, the State legiſlatures may with great eaſe, and in ſome caſes with great advantage to the citizens, impoſe other taxes. The produce of the ſtates is different; the inhabitants have different modes of living, and there is a difference even in their vices; wherefore different taxes might be proper; ſuch taxes might be uſeful to correct vices or reſtrain habits that ſhould not be indulged; it will certainly be granted that the legiſlature of the ſtate in many caſes can beſt accommodate the burthen to the ſtrength and feelings of the citizens. It had hitherto been conſidered that the ſtates owed certain duties, and that they had a certain quota of ſervices to perform. From the particular policy of ſome of the ſtates, their debts had depreciated greatly, certificates had been ſold at 2s. 6d. in the pound, people would not readily be reconciled to the new creed, "that all the debts lately paid, are ſtate debts, but all the debts not paid, are national debts," eſpecially as this diſcovery is made after moſt of the certificates have changed their original holders, and have paſſed for a triſle into the hands of moneyed men. Cæſar's wife ſhould not only be chaſte, but without ſuſpicion—He conceived that a national legiſlature ſhould be extremely cautious how they adopted new meaſures, eſpecially if there was a ſingle hook to which the ſuſpicion of perſonal intereſt might be attached.

The ſituation of North-Carolina he alledged was ſomewhat different from that of her ſiſter ſtates; commiſſioners had on ſundry occaſions iſſued continental ſecurities to the citizens of the ſeveral ſtates, independent of the army certificates, to the amount of 4,892,000 dollars; of this ſum about 8,000 dollars had been iſſued to the citizens of North-Carolina—the citizens of that ſtate have hardly any continental ſecurities, becauſe the ſtate by one accident or another has been obliged to aſſume the payment of the continental debts; ſhe has aſſumed debts to the amount of 6 or 7 000,000 dollars. In what manner are the citizens to be rewarded for all their labors and ſupplies. He prayed the committee would attend to the operation of this new ſyſtem; other ſtates ſince the peace have laid taxes to raiſe money for paying intereſt, and that intereſt has been returned into the hands of their own citizens. North-Carolina has impoſed heavy taxes for ſinking certificates, being part of the principal of the public debt; the citizen has drawn no relief from thoſe taxes, and to crown his misfortunes he is not to get a credit for the certificates ſunk. The ſtate has alſo iſſued paper money to the amount of 200,000l. that is to ſay, half a million of dollars; ſome of this money has been applied towards paying the late continental line of the army, and ſome of it has been employed in buying up public ſecurities; the ſecurities are in the treaſury, but the paper money is in circulation; our citizens are to be taxed for ſinking this money, and we are not allowed a diſcount for the certificates which are purchaſed by the money: will not this be a double tax? we are required to pay our proportion towards the intereſt of other people's certificates—we muſt at the ſame time pay taxes towards ſinking our paper money, which is another ſpecies of certificates; but we are not to be relieved in the mean time by diſcounting the intereſt of the certificates we have taken up. Patience itſelf would complain of ſuch injuſtice. Perhaps we ſhall be told that the double tax may be inconvenient but we ſhall be repaid on ſome future occaſion; we ſhall get a credit when the accounts of all the ſtates are ſettled and the quotas of the ſeveral ſtates are fixed; in other words *we may expect juſtice at the day of judgment.* He prayed it might be obſerved that the accounts were not in a train to be ſettled; that they could not poſſibly be ſettled under any exiſting law, and Congreſs had not taken a ſingle ſtep from which he could believe that they intended to make any ſettlement; the original rule for fixing the quotas of the ſeveral ſtates, "according to the value of lands and their improvements," had long ſince been given up as impracticable; Congreſs had ſubſtituted no other rule in its place, if they were ſeriouſly diſpoſed to ſettle the accounts of the ſeveral ſtates, and to render ſome meaſure of juſtice to the moſt deſerving, the neceſſary ſteps were obvious. In

forming a rule for ſettling the accounts, he was perſuaded that North-Carolina would not appear to be illiberal, he preſumed alſo that ſhe would be diſpoſed to make a generous allowance to the ſeveral ſtates for all ſervices that had uſually been called military; but he could not reconcile himſelf to this ſyſtem of aſſuming the debt firſt, and talking afterwards concerning its origin. It has been obſerved that the ſtate debts are not to be funded immediately; how ſhall we account for this extraordinary zeal in declaring abſolutely that they ſhall be aſſumed? Are we afraid that the next Congreſs will refuſe to do juſtice? Are we deſirous to cut off the poſſibility of returning if we ſhould change our minds on better information? One obvious benefit will ariſe from this ſudden adoption, a few men who chanced to be near the ſeat of government, and were firſt poſſeſſed of the ſcheme, who flew to Carolina, and there bought up ſecurities at 3s. in the pound; thoſe men will be liberally rewarded, while his unfortunate fellow citizens are left to pay a ſecond tax for the ſame object, and to complain of the injuſtice of government.

On this occaſion he ſaid he was not left to conjecture what would be the ſenſe of his conſtituents; the late convention had expreſſed it fully in one of the amendments they had forwarded to Congreſs, in the following words: "Congreſs ſhall not directly or indirectly, either by themſelves or through the judiciary interfere with any one of the States in the redemption of paper money, already emitted and now in circulation, or in liquidating and diſcharging the public ſecurities of any one of the States, but each and every State ſhall have the excluſive right of making ſuch laws and regulations for the above purpoſes as they ſhall think proper."

In this amendment the convention had been unanimous. On this occaſion he was not only purſuing a meaſure that accorded with the ſenſe of his conſtituents, but it was a meaſure that had perfect juſtice for its object. North-Carolina aſked for no favors, ſhe ſought for no advantages under cover of general reſolves, ſhe was ready to account according to the ſpirit of the original contract, a contract that had not been altered by the new form of government, for juſtice was immutable. The new government could not be ſtrengthened by haſty meaſures, much leſs by any departure from juſtice.

Mr. Sedgwick ſaid it had been reported abroad, and declared in the houſe that thoſe gentlemen who were in favor of the aſſumption, meant to prevent a ſettlement of the accounts of the individual ſtates, with the United States: To remove every objection ariſing from that ſource, he would take the liberty of declaring once for all, and that in the moſt unequivocal and poſitive language, that he did not now, nor ever had entertained ſuch an intention, and that he had the fulleſt confidence that the ſame declaration might be applied to every gentleman in favor of the meaſure.

Mr. Sedgwick ſaid that the houſe after having exhauſted the ſubject in a moſt deliberate diſcuſſion, had again reſolved themſelves into a committee, in conſequence of the gentleman from N. C. (Mr. W.) having pledged himſelf, in five minutes to demonſtrate that by the aſſumption, the ſtate he repreſented would be defrauded of half a million of dollars. That he had attended very carefully to the proceſs of this demonſtration, and perhaps it might not be altogether time miſpent in communicating to the committee the obſervations which had occurred to him upon it.

That he underſtood the gentleman to have declared that N. C. had rendered ſervices beyond her proportion, that her debt created for national purpoſes, and part of which had been actually aſſumed, was alſo beyond her proportion, that the accounts of the individual ſtates with the United States, would never be adjuſted, and more, that there was an intention with the majority of Congreſs to prevent it; what concluſion was to be drawn from this? North Carolina would ſuſtain an injury from the circumſtances ſtated, if the debt ſhall not be aſſumed; common ſenſe would then dictate that juſtice to N. C. required that the debts ſhould be aſſumed. This conſequence however, was not deduced from the premiſes; the gentleman had agreed that as N.C. independent of the aſſumption would ſuſtain an injury againſt which ſhe could by no other means be relieved, therefore he had *wiſely* concluded that by the aſſumption ſhe would be defrauded.

Mr. Sedgwick ſaid the gentleman had further ſtated that N. C. had been ſo unfortunate, that ſome of her confidential officers had iſſued fraudulently 300,000 dollars in certificates; which certificates, if the debt of that ſtate ſhould be aſſumed, muſt be paid by this government. If ſo, there could be no doubt but this government would indeed be defrauded, and N. C. would of courſe be ſubjected to her proportion of the burden reſulting from it: But he wiſhed the gentleman to conſider whether the national councils might not, aided by his wiſdom and experience, be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs nearly as much ſagacity in detecting frauds and guarding againſt their effects, as the government of N. C.

The next argument of the gentleman, Mr. S. obſerved was ſtill more extraordinary, and indeed greatly beyond his comprehenſion. That he had ſtated to the committee that N. C. had iſſued paper money to a certain amount, with this money they had purchaſed certificates; here then he concludes the ſtate had made one purchaſe for which it ſhould have a credit; ſtill, however, this money is to be reduced, which will be an additional burden on the people. Here then it is ſuppoſed to have been proved a double payment has been made, and yet it is juſtly concluded that only a ſingle credit is propoſed to be given for this wonderful operation. Mr. Sedgwick ſaid he would illuſtrate the *ingenious* argument of the gentleman by an example exactly ſimilar, "I borrow" "ſaid he" of my friend an hundred pounds for which I *pay* him by my bond, the man at the time agreed upon for the payment of the money, applies for it, whereupon I with a ſober face tell him, that when I received his money he was paid for it by my bond, and ſhould he be ſo unconſcionable as to inſiſt on his money, he would receive *double payment*. Surely any reaſonable man would be convinced by the argument. Juſt ſo N. C. purchaſed certificates with her *valuable* paper promiſes, this is one payment, ſhe performs her promiſes—there are now double payments.

Mr. Sedgwick obſerved that the gentleman had ſaid, that while ſome ſtates had made proviſion for the payment of the intereſt of the debt, N. C. had not done ſo, ſhe had redeemed the principal. He ſaid if indeed N. C. had neglected to make any proviſion for the payment of the intereſt, and had cauſed the immenſe depreciation which would unavoidably ariſe from that ſource, and had then laid a ſpecific tax payable in the principal, it was an argument infinitely ſtronger than any he had heard in favor of diſcrimination; but how it could operate againſt the propoſed aſſumption was beyond the powers of his mind to diſcover.

He further obſerved that the gentleman had produced the N. C. amendment, as a reaſon againſt the aſſumption, that it had alſo been declared to be a ſubſtantial argument againſt the meaſure that the idea had never been contemplated by any body in the Southern States until ſince the report of the Secretary. He ſaid he could not very well underſtand how the convention of N. C. could propoſe an amendment with an intention to prevent a meaſure they had never thought of.

The gentleman from North-Carolina had ſaid he was ſenſible ſome of the ſtates were unduly and unequally burdened, and that he was willing to afford them relief when the accounts ſhould be ſettled. At the ſame time he was ſo candid as to declare that he did not believe thoſe accounts ever would be ſettled. He ſaid that if the gentleman had poſſeſſed leſs confidence in his own powers of perſuaſion, he would perhaps have permitted at leaſt one day to intervene between the one of thoſe declarations and the other.

"Theſe" ſaid Mr. Sedgwick "are the arguments, the weighty arguments, which the gentleman pledged himſelf ſhould have all the force of demonſtration, nd in expectation of hearing which the majority conſidered themſelves authoriſed to ſuſpend a determination on a queſtion the moſt important that ever came before this houſe; a determination on which, the public mind has long expected with an anxiety proportioned to its magnitude."

Mr. Sedgwick concluded by obſerving that if the majority of the committee was influenced in their determination on this important queſtion by an enlarged, liberal and extended national policy, there could be no doubt of the reſult, but on the contrary, if local and narrow ideas ſhould prevail, he ſhould deſpair of ſucceſs, and with it of thoſe benefits which he had fondly hoped would attend the adminiſtration of this government.

Mr. Williamſon, in reply to Mr. Sedgwick ſaid that he had not aſſerted that North-Carolina had paid more than her proportion; the gentleman does not hear well; he had ſaid (he obſerved) that North-Carolina had aſſumed to herſelf, more than her proportion of the continental debt. He repeated his remark that there was a deſign to prevent a ſettlement. Let the ſettlement firſt be made; and North-Carolina will chearfully concur in aſſuming the balances which may appear to be due from the United States—but the preſent plan is to get the whole funded, and let the ſettlement come on as it will.

Mr. Page in oppoſition to aſſumption ſaid, it was a meaſure which did not meet the approbation of the creditors themſelves. Some of the debts were contracted for purpoſes in which the reſt were no more intereſted than a foreign nation. He then repeated the obſervations reſpecting conſolidation; the meaſure would tend to that, and from that to monarchy. He enlarged on the idea of a ſpirit of rivalſhip's giving riſe to the debts of the ſeparate States; they were free, ſovereign and independent—were at liberty to contract what debts they pleaſed and the United States were not bound to pay debts contracted from ſuch motives; he hoped the committee would abandon the propoſition and go on to conſider the reſt, which are totally independent of it.

Mr. Goodhue, after obſerving that the comparative view of the merits and ſervices of the ſeveral States has nothing to do with the preſent queſtion, ſaid, the war commenced when there was no legiſlative body to repreſent the Union; it was carried on by paper money; when that ceaſed, and the credit of the United States was gone—they applied to the individual States; Congreſs depended on the credit of the States, ſeparately; hence aroſe the debts of the States—and thus it appears demonſtratively, that thoſe debts are the debts of the United States; contracted on their account and which they are bound by every principle of juſtice and policy to provide for. This obligation it appears is greatly enhanced by this conſideration that the funds on which theſe debts were dependant, and from which the intereſt on them was paid, is now aſſumed by the United States. The impoſt and exciſe under the management of the individual States was barely ſufficient for this purpoſe; they have now nothing left, but the exciſe, which is found to be very unproductive—the conſequences of direct taxation have been ſeverely felt. I am clearly of opinion that if we do not make this aſſumption, the very exiſtence of this government will be endangered; the competition for revenue will excite ſuch heats and animoſities, as will deſtroy the revenue altogether.

He concluded by wiſhing that the ſubject might be taken up on fair and equal principles—and from thence he doubted not, it would appear a meaſure of indiſpenſable neceſſity and juſtice to adopt the propoſition for the aſſumption.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20.

Sundry petitions were read.

A committee was appointed on Col. Ely's memorial.

In committee of the whole on the Report of the Secretary of the Treaſury for the ſupport of the public credit.

The 2d alternative,* in the following words was read, viz. — To have the whole ſum funded at an annuity or yearly intereſt of 4 per cent. irredeemable by any payment exceeding five dollars pr. annum, on account both of principal and intereſt, and to receive as a compenſation for the reduction of intereſt, fifteen dollars and eighty cents, payable in lands as in the preceding caſe.

It was moved to ſtrike out "five dollars" in order to admit a larger ſum, ſo that the redemption of the principal ſhould take place at an earlier period than that propoſed. This was agreed to, and Six inſerted.

The following propoſition, "To have 66⅔ dollars funded immediately at an annuity or yearly intereſt of 6 per cent. irredeemable by any payment exceeding four dollars and two thirds of a dollar, pr. annum, on account both of principal and intereſt; and to have at the expiration of ten years 26 dollars, and 88 cents, funded at the like intereſt and rate of redemption." The propoſition being amended to read as follows, was agreed to.

"To have 66⅔ dollars funded immediately at an annuity or yearly intereſt of ſix per cent. irredeemable by any payment exceeding ſix dollars and two thirds of a dollar per annum, on account both of principal and intereſt; and to have, at the end of ſeven years, thirty-three dollars and one third of a dollar funded at the like intereſt and rate of redemption."

Mr. Sherman then propoſed to modify the reſolution ſo as to admit of the following propoſition—"That the debts contracted by the ſeveral ſtates for the common defence and benefit of the union, ought to be conſidered as a part of the domeſtic debt of the United States: That proper proviſion ought to be made for the immediate debt of the United States; and that the faith of government ought to be pledged to make proviſion, at the next ſeſſion, for ſo much of the debts of the reſpective ſtates as ſhall have been ſubſcribed upon any of the terms expreſſed in the laſt reſolution; provided that ſubſcriptions ſhall not be received for a greater amount, than the following ſums, viz.

[Here the names of the ſeveral ſtates were inſerted without any ſums.]

That the remainder ought to be left to the reſpective ſtates to provide for, until a final ſettlement of their accounts with the United States, for which ſettlement effectual proviſion ought now to be made.

Provided that no debts be aſſumed but ſuch as have been liquidated in ſpecie value, and evidenced by notes or certificates iſſued by authority of the reſpective States, before the————day of ————1790.

And if the creditors of any ſtate ſhall not ſubſcribe to the amount of the debt of ſuch ſtate to be aſſumed as aforeſaid, ſuch ſtate ſhall receive intereſt at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, on the remainder of ſaid ſum, until a final ſettlement of its accounts with the United States, to be applied to the payment of intereſt to its non-ſubſcribing creditors, for which, and for the ſums that may be aſſumed, the reſpective ſtates ſhall be accountable to the United States."

Mr. Sherman being called upon to aſcertain in what proportion he meant to fill up the blanks, read the following as a ſtatement of the debts owing by the ſtates, and the proportions he wanted to have aſſumed.

Aſſumption of the State Debts, not exceeding the ſums in the laſt column.

	Due as per Sec'ry's Report.	*Sums to be aſſumed.*
	DOLLARS.	
N. Hampſhire.	300,000	300,000
Maſſachuſetts	5,226,801	4,000,000
Connecticut	1,951,173	1,600,000
New-York	1,167,575	1,000,000
New-Jerſey	788,680	750,000
Pennſylvania	2,200,000	2,000,000
Delaware		100,000
Maryland	800,000	750,000
Virginia	3,600,743	3,000,000
N. Carolina		1,600,000
S. Carolina	5,386,232	4,000,000
Georgia		200,000
		19,300,000

Theſe reſolutions were oppoſed with as much ſpirit as the original propoſition for the aſſumption. The Committee roſe without coming to a vote on them.

* *In our laſt we ſtated that the ſecond alternative was acceded to: this was an error; it was propoſed to reſtore it, but the propoſition was not then decided upon.*

THURSDAY, APRIL 22.

Reports on ſundry memorials and petitions from the Secretary at War were read.

Mr. Madison made the following motion: Mr. Speaker As we have been informed not only through the channel of the newſpapers but by a more direct communication, of the deceaſe of an illuſtrious character, whoſe native genius has rendered diſtinguiſhed ſervices to the cauſe of ſcience and of mankind in general; and whoſe patriotic exertions have contributed in a high degree to the independence and proſperity of this country in particular—the occaſion ſeems to call upon us to pay ſome tribute to his memory expreſſive of the tender veneration his country feels for ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit—I therefore move the following reſolution:

> "The houſe being informed of the deceaſe of Benjamin Franklin, a citizen whoſe native g[illegible] us was not more an ornament to human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to ſcience, to freedom, and to his country, do reſolve, as a mark of the veneration due to his memory, that the members wear the cuſtomary badge of mourning for one month."

On the queſtion, this motion paſſed without a diviſion.

Mr. Partridge brought in a bill for allowing compenſation to John Ely, which was read a firſt time.

Mr. Gilman of the committee of enrolment, reported that the committee had examined the bill entitled an act for the puniſhment of certain crimes againſt the United States; whereupon, the ſpeaker ſigned the ſaid bill.

In committee of the whole on the report of the Secretary of the Treaſury, Mr. Sherman's reſolutions were again read, and an intereſting debate enſued but no deciſion took place.

FRIDAY, APRIL 23.

The bill for granting compenſation to Col. John Ely, for his ſervices and expences as a ſurgeon to the priſoners on Long Iſland during the late war, was read the ſecond time, and referred to a committee of the whole, to be taken into conſideration this day week.

A report from the Secretary of the Treaſury purſuant to order of the houſe on the 19th January laſt, reſpecting any difficulties attending the execution of the revenue laws was read, and referred to a committee, conſiſting of Mr. Goodhue, Mr. Fitzſimons, Mr. Lawrance, Mr. Boudinot, and Mr. Lee.

Sundry reports from the Secretary for the department of war, on petitions and memorials were read.

A petition and remonſtrance from the merchants of George-town on Potowmac, concerned in ſhipping, was preſented by Mr. Carroll, and read.

The report of the Secretary of the Treaſury on the memorial of General James Warren, was read—this report being againſt the prayer of the petition. Mr. Partridge after ſtating the circumſtances on which the application to the houſe was founded, moved that the ſum of 38ol. be granted to General James Warren, in full for ſo much ſhort paid him on a warrant drawn in his favor on the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts; this motion was ſeconded by Mr. Gerry, who likewiſe ſpake to the merits of the petition. The queſtion being taken, the motion was negatived.

Mr. Ames ſaid, that previous to taking up the order of the day, he wiſhed to introduce a motion for the conſideration of the houſe; he obſerved that it had been aſſerted in the courſe of the debates on the aſſumption of the State debts, that the State of Virginia had advanced for the common defence, beyond her proportion; advantage appeared to be taken of ſuch aſſertions; he thought it neceſſary that facts ſhould be known—that the committee might act with certainty in conducting this important queſtion; he therefore moved the following in ſubſtance, viz. That the Secretary for the department of war be directed *to lay* before the houſe a ſtatement of the troops including the militia, and ordnance ſtores furniſhed by the reſpective States for the general defence, during the late war.—This motion was oppoſed as tending to procraſtinate the funding buſineſs, and as leading to excite invidious compariſons reſpecting the relative merits and exertions of the ſeveral States.——It was however carried in the affirmative, with this addition propoſed by Mr. Bland, "and that the Commiſſioners of accounts between the United States and individual ſtates, be directed to furniſh an abſtract of the claims of the ſeveral ſtates againſt the United States, ſpecifying the principles on which the claims are founded. On the above motion, the previous queſtion was called for by Mr. Lee, which was loſt, and the main queſtion agreed to, 28 to 26.

Mr. Gerry then moved, that the Secretary of the Treaſury be directed to report to the houſe a ſtatement of all payments both of Indents and other paper, as well as ſpecie which have been made by the ſeveral ſtates to Congreſs from the commencement to the end of the late war, This was agreed to.

Mr Madiſon moved that a ſtatement of the unliquidated claims of the ſeveral ſtates againſt the United States, ſhould be furniſhed by the Commiſſioners—this was alſo agreed to.

The above report of the Secretary of the Treaſury is very minute and lengthy—the reading of it and the debates on the ſeveral motions employed the whole day—ſo that the Houſe did not go into Committee.

(Adjourned till Monday.)

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

It was expected that a ſpirit of accommodation would have prevailed in the minds of moſt of our ſtateſmen under the preſent government, and that even ſacrifices *would have been chearfully made for the general good, but we are ſorry to find the time is not yet come, and that there is too much of the* old leaven *ſtill remaining.*

I doubt the buſineſs of paying the national debt *is not taken up on proper grounds, and that many of the members in the Houſe of Repreſentatives are too much attached to the principles of the old government, to be able to judge properly of a good* Syſtem of Finance. *The great difficulty appears to be about that part of the debt which was contracted by individual States; and it might with as much propriety be propoſed to apportion the whole, or to make a diſcrimination in the payment of the debt contracted by our* different Agents *in Europe, as to leave* diſproportioned *parts of the* domeſtic debt *to be provided for by different funds.*

It was certainly right under the late government, for the States to make proviſion in their individual capacities for ſuch debts as they were obliged to aſſume on account of the Union, becauſe no better could be done; but to purſue ſuch meaſures now, would defeat the beſt purpoſes of the Conſtitution, and be ſubverſive of the ſoundeſt principles of finance, and of national policy.

The refuſal of the States to relinquiſh the debts, on the plea that it would do them injuſtice, appears to me, to have no foundation in reaſon; for ſurely an Act that would put it in the option *of the creditors to ſubſcribe to the funds of the Union, could not operate againſt an equitable adjuſtment of the accounts; and retaining the debts will not tend to put the States on a footing of equality.*

Every friend to the Union would be happy to ſee a diſpoſition to accommodate, when neceſſary; but I would only aſk in the preſent caſe, to carry into operation the great objects of the government. And although the buſineſs ſhould lie over for the preſent, I am confident that ere long, both the States and their creditors will be as willing to ſurrender the debts to the general government as any member of that body will be to provide for them. A CREDITOR OF THE UNION.

Philadelphia, April 20, 1790.

TRANSLATED
FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FROM THE *LEYDEN* GAZETTE.

Published by STEPHEN LUZAC.

[A Paper that is considered in Europe as the most authentic medium of Intelligence—and as such circulates more extensively than any other similar publication.

Extracts from the Leyden Gazette of Jan. 1, 1790.

BY a letter of the 7th of December from the Ukraine it appears that HASSAN PACHA, now Grand Visir had sent from Ismalow a deputation to PRINCE POTEMKIN with a letter written to him by the Grand Seignior with his own hand to ask if Prince POTEMKIN was charged with full powers to treat of peace, and if he was, to desire that negotiations might be immediately opened for that purpose. The Prince immediately sent an express to Petersburgh, and in the mean time invited the deputies of the Grand Visir to come to Jasey, offering an escort for their safety?

WARSAW.

Extract of letter of Dec. 16. The diet have received a letter from his Prussian Majesty in which he offers his friendship to the republic, and asks theirs, expressing his wishes to see it happy and powerful, and desiring in concert with his allies, England, the United Netherlands, &c. to enter into connections with Poland which no intrigues may disturb: that in this view he wishes also that the future form of government which shall be given to the republic, may be fixed and established as soon as possible, since on that form will depend the future happiness of the country; that he was well aware how difficult it is to introduce a new form of government in a monarchical country and how much more difficult still to remedy the vices of government in a republic—but he wished they would immediately undertake it, and communicate to him the plan of a new system.

The deputies of the towns have demanded from the diet—1. That the commons be restored to their antient rights. 2. That commoners and strangers be assured of personal protection. 3. That commoners be allowed to own lands. 4. That nobles and commoners may be made capable of mutually inheriting goods from each other. 5. That commoners be declared capable of all employments ecclesiastical, civil and military. 6. That the commoners be subject to public jurisdictions only. 7. That commoners be allowed to communicate to public bodies their ideas on commerce, &c. 8. That all the cities be allowed to send Nuncios to the diet, and to instruct them, and that the influence of the cities on the government be no more infringed, but amplified. 9. That commoners as well as nobles be chosen into the commissions of the Treasury and Palatinates. 10. That in the tribunals for the cities there be as many commoners as nobles.

DANTZIC.

People here now publicly express the advantages they should derive from becoming the subjects of a powerful Prince able to protect them?

BERLIN.

Letter Dec. 22. Every thing announces that the coming year will be interesting. The cabinet is very busy, tho secret, it is obvious, that it looks towards Poland Prince TALLONOWSKI is come to succeed as Minister for Poland here, the Prince CZARTORISKI who returns to Warsaw; one object seems to be an alliance with Poland, and that it enter into the grand alliance forming under the auspices of his Prussian Majesty. The fate of Dantzic will probably be decided at the same time. Our preparations for war are no longer secret; our court has approved the conduct of Monsieur DOHM in the affairs of Liege.

PARIS.

Letter Dec. 25. The term of the second Presidency of M. FRETEAU being expired, M. DEMEUNIER was proclaimed his successor in the session of the 22d of this month, having had 430 out of 887 votes. M. MALONET had 326; in the session of the preceding evening M. BRUNET DE LATUQUE, deputy of Nerac, made a speech filled with sentiments of equity and justice, to shew to the assembly that the edict of 1787, concerning the non-catholics, excluded those citizens from places in the municipalities, which comprehend those of judicature; that the decisions of the assembly not having abrogated that law, it might be used in the formation of the municipalities as well as of the assemblies of district and department, against citizens meriting the same rights with others. He therefore moved that the National Assembly should explain itself on the capacity of non-Catholics, not only to be elected in all the parts of administration without exception; but also to all employments civil and military, as other citizens. M. de ROEDERER made the same motion in favor of comedians—and the count de CLERMONT-TONNERRE proposed a resolution in such general terms that the Jews would have been comprehended. The discussion of these motions was resumed the 23d of Dec. and yesterday it was concluded by a resolution, which will form an epoch in the annals of the world, and which renders France at this day the most tolerant country of Europe. It is in these words: "The National Assembly declares, 1. That the non-Catholics, who shall otherwise fulfil all the conditions prescribed in their preceding rules for electors, or persons capable of being elected, may be chosen in all parts of administration without exception—2. That the non-Catholics are capable of all employments, civil and military, as other citizens—without meaning however to affect the case of Jews, on which the assembly reserves a right of deciding, and moreover without that, that any other causes of ineligibility may be opposed, but those which result from the principles of the Constitution." This last clause respects the comedians.

GHENT.

A letter of Dec. 27, says, that the most perfect order has prevailed in Brussels from the first moment of the revolution. The Belgic nation, and Mr. VANDERNOOT, their leader, have great merit for their sincere efforts to prevent all excesses. He is chosen President of the General Committee of the Belgic Provinces. People now begin to look forward to the future form to be given to our government. Some think, as the Prince is deprived of his rights, the Sovereignty reverts to the people, and does not survive as a property to the few in possession of it—that the right of representation particularly should be equalized—that the distinction of orders should be suppressed, or it would be only a change of masters—others think that the Ducal power being abrogated in the person of the Emperor, the States, as at present formed, are entitled to continue in the government, and that they must not give into the dangerous novelties of their neighbors—it may happen that the consequences of this revolution may be more extensive than its leaders intended. The Prince D'AREMBERG, who was a member of the National Assembly of France, is come to offer his services to the States of Flanders: Some irregular imprisonments have been made, which disgust the nation.

BRUSSELS, *Dec.* 21.

The Austrian troops evacuated on the 20th the city of Ruremond, and all the provinces. The States will assemble in three days.

LIEGE.

The revolution of this place wears a favorable aspect—not only his Prussian Majesty, but the Elector Palatine, as Duke of Juliers, seem disposed to protect it.

(To be continued.)

LINES,

Written at *Santa Cruz*, in the Island of *Teneriff*, and sent to DONNA ANTONIETTA DE R——. a Spanish young Lady.

BY PETER PINDAR, Esq.

In the manner of SPENSER.

BEHOLD in these lorn shades a damsel dwell;
I ween the fairest amongst all the fair;
A while doth Virtue bid her sky farewell,
To live with SYLVIA passing all compare:
Eke Innocence doth leave her gentle bower above,
To join her gentle Sister of the grove.

Yet what availeth, beauteous maid, thy mien,
To mortals driven from thy dark retreat?
Ah! what thy sparkling eyne of peerless sheen,
Sith lovers are forbidden from thy seat!
Soothly of little value is the rose,
Whose bell unseen in dreary desart blows.

Soothly! the balms of Araby the blest
Are nought, if unenjoy'd their fragrant stream!
What is fair Luna in her silv'ry vest,
If ne'er she sheweth to the world her beam?
Then break like Luna from her cloud of night,
And glad us, lovely virgin, with thy light.

For thee the Poet heaveth sighs how deep!
Yet, yet unheard, they mingle with the wind;
Ah! Virgin, well my artless lays may weep,
Sith SPENSER hapless plain'd for ROSALIND;
Spenser whose sweet Song far surpasseth mine,
As Rosalinda's beauties yield to thine.

Yet trust me, fair one, I will verse indite,
And *thou* the subject sost, to bring me praise;
Tho' love be cruel, yet for laud I'll write,
And immortality must crown my lays;
For sith thy charms so much delighted fame,
She'll suffer nought to die that holds thy name.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 10.

Report of the Military Committee.

This report is ordered to be printed—the principal articles contained in it are as follow.

"The King of Frenchmen is the Supreme Chief of the military forces by land and by sea. No military man can be broken or dismissed from his employment without a previous trial. "That no law or ordinance whatever shall be established under any pretext whatever, which shall tend to exclude any citizen from holding a military rank.—"That every military man who shall retire after six years service, shall be entitled to the privileges of an active citizen."

The report further orders, that the King should be requested immediately to favour the Assembly with his ideas concerning the organization of the army, that it might then deliberate on the several objects which concern the legislative power.

FEBRUARY 13.

The King, accompanied by the Queen and the Dauphin, went yesterday, the 11th, to visit the hospital of the Enfans-trouves. His Majesty examined the establishment with regard to its most minute economy, and appeared much pleased with its regulation. A croud of people followed the carriage—the streets thro which it passed re-echoed with the cries of VIVE LE ROI! VIVE LE REINE! VIVE LE DAUPHIN! and satisfaction was painted on the faces of their Majesties.

The Commons of Paris have made an order, that the King's speech in the National Assembly, shall be engraved under his bust in their hall.

PARIS, February 9.

The King has at least obtained one part of his object, in going to the National Assembly on the 4th inst. for the people seem so well satisfied of his Majesty's good intentions, that he is to be permitted to go to his hunting seat at Rambouillet for a few days. It is further mentioned that a motion is shortly to be made in the Assembly to break all the National guards, having no further occasion for their services

In the reduction of expences, that of foreign Embassies is to be considerably curtailed.

The last stone of the Bastile's dungeons was presented on Saturday last to the National Assembly, by the workmen who demolished those infernal regions.

ROME,

Jan. 22. The trial of CAGLIOSTRO, who is still closely confined, is carried on very cautiously and secretly. All we can learn is, that on the 16th he underwent an examination which lasted five hours and an half. The next day (Sunday) the Pope read all that had passed, and immediately ordered him to be loaded with iron chains, and to be manacled. We are assured that he was at the head of a conspiracy against our government, which was to have been put into execution in the night of the 12th of next month.

MADRID, *(Spain)* Jan. 25.

The last letters received from Algiers mentioned, that the plague had again made its appearance in the district of Mascara.

LONDON, *Feb.* 13.

We are told, that a dissolution of Parliament, will take place in May next. The new Parliament to meet in June or July? at the latter end of which month, their Majesties, and the three elder Princesses will go to Hanover.

The Prince of Wales is to preside at the Council appointed for the management of the Affairs of State, during the King's absence.

Two pictures of Poussin, which the late Mr. Delme purchased for 400 guineas, were sold this day at his sale for 1630 gs. Lord Ashburnham was the purchaser. A Claude was bought by Sir Geo. Beaumont for 500 guineas.

The additional duty on newspapers has not increased the revenue—on the contrary, the duty on stamps decreased 42,000l. in the last half year.

NEW-WINDSOR, April 14.

Some days ago, a huge rock on that end of Butter-hill (Highlands) which adjoins Hudson's river, was discovered to leave its bed, near the summit of the mountain, and proceed with surprising rapidity down the steep, making a tremendous noise, and tearing up either rocks or trees that opposed, until it plunged into the river. This was observed by two fishing boats who narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces by it or the number of stones and splinters of rocks that accompanied it, or of being swampt by the confusion it made in the water. They supposed it to be of about seven feet diameter, its removal was occasioned by its being undermined by heavy rains, as it stood on a very sandy spot.

MARBLEHEAD,

April 3.—The highest prize in the State Lottery was drawn by a number of Females in this town: About 30 were joint possessors of that fortunate number and five others; the highest share in them did not exceed one dollar, and the lowest was nine pence, expressive of the different abilities of the concerned; by which circumstance, the property of the prize is most agreeably divided!

PHILADELPHIA, 21 April.

This day were interred the remains of the illustrious and venerable BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, L. L. D. with every mark of tender and respectful sorrow, which an affectionate family, devoted to him—friends truly sensible of his worth, or an intelligent and grateful city could show.

The ships in the harbour, of all nations, hung their flags half mast high.

To the town of Boston, the place of his nativity, he has left a liberal and well-judged token of his remembrance; to the city of Philadelphia, his second place of birth, he has left the same. But time alone can unfold to his country and his fellow-men, the numerous treasures of wisdom, which his patrotism and philanthropy have bequeathed them.

YEARS, *virtue, honor, glory, fame, conclude*
" *A life of labors, for the public good!*'
" *Calm sleeps the flesh—far distant unconfin'd,*
" *In bliss unbounded wakes th' immortal mind.*

ARRIVALS SINCE OUR LAST.——NEW-YORK.

Ship Expedition, Roberts, London.
Brig Lively, Clark, Bristol.
Brig Laretta, Sisare, St. Domingo.
Brig Three Brothers, New-Castle (England).
Brig Minerva, Tiplet, Baltimore.
Brig Columbia, Baddock, Edenton, (N. C.)
Schooner Good Hope, Savage, St Thomas.
Sloop Catharine, Snell, Charleston.
——Sloop Sally, Lawrence, Cape Francois.
——Sloop Susan, Elliot, Montego Bay.
——Sloop Polly, Rhodes, Edenton (N. C.)
——Sloop Wilmington Packet, Brainsby, Wilmington.
——Sloop Betsey, Brooks, Philadelphia.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

THE patriots of America were little more weary of the dangers and efforts of a ſtate of war, than of the confuſions, diſgraces and gloomy forebodings which ſucceeded it. That liberty which coſt ſuch efforts, and was worth more than it coſt, ſeemed ready to expire; property was deemed inſecure; the union had nothing but opinion to ſupport it; a charm which was loſing its force by time, and the accumulated cauſes of internal hoſtility.—While New-York was taxing Connecticut and New-Jerſey, and part of Maſſachuſetts, and Maſſachuſetts, was taxing a part of Connecticut, and almoſt all New-Hampſhire; while each accuſed the other of delinquency during the war, and of injuſtice ſince the peace, all men of diſcernment ſaw with grief and terror the rapid progreſs of things towards a ſtate of civil war. Thank Heaven! it is only a matter of opinion; but that opinion is little ſhort of plenary evidence, that before this day the flames of civil war would have been kindled. The high ſpirit of Connecticut could ill brook the being tributary to New-York. It is ſaid that more than one hundred thouſand dollars were drawn yearly by this latter ſtate from its neighbours. Trade ſuffered under rival regulations—mutual interconrſe was ſhackled, and would ſoon have been interdicted. Navigation and manufactures ſunk under the weight of foreign oppreſſion; all this time property was unſafe; we bluſhed for our country, while we trembled for its ſafety. When we adopted the Conſtitution, we juſtly relied upon the wiſdom of its principles, and, perhaps ſtill more, upon the zeal of its advocates for an efficient and ſtable adminiſtration. What were the defects of the old form of government? It was well enough on paper; but in practice it was a piece of mockery. Congreſs had the ſword, it is true; but a ſword that muſt be kept in the ſcabbord till the ruſt had conſumed its edge. The States had each a ſword too, and what was better, a purſe, and in that purſe ſome of the States kept their own and their neighbour's money: It was a houſe divided againſt itſelf; it was a conſtitutional mob; a chaos made more confuſed by attempting to arrange it into order; a perpetual conflict between conſtitution and adminiſtration; it was worſe than a ſtate of nature in which each man is againſt his fellow; for here petty ſocieties were ranged againſt one another; it was order againſt order; government againſt government; it was a kind of feudal anarchy in which the ſocial principle was perverted to make the miſchief of individual paſſions more permanent and deadly.

Thoſe who believe in providence ought to thank heaven upon their knees that we have eſcaped from a condition which afforded no hope but in the extremity of the evil; that extremity produced the conſtitution; while it was in diſcuſſion, it was admitted that without the complete power of the purſe, the government would be a ſhadow; it would cheat the hopes of thoſe who expected protection from it.—For let it be remembered, a feeble government is a curſe to a country; for the paſſions of men are conſtantly ſtruggling to eſcape the reſtraint of laws; a government too weak to reſtrain theſe paſſions becomes the inſtrument of them.

Government is to ſociety what reaſon is to the ſoul; when the authority of either is impaired, vice and ruin will enſue; it is too often ſaid government is an evil: good government makes men better than it finds them.—By impoſing an habitual reſtraint upon the paſſions, they loſe much of their ferocity, and reaſon becomes ſuperior; under good government man is a taught animal, and gains more than all others by diſcipline.

Every feeble government on earth is a government of men, and of bad men too, and not of laws; the worſt paſſions are the moſt active, and will gain the aſcendency; liberty if it can be called ſuch is then the moſt inſecure. Thoſe who poſſeſs, are made weary of it; its champions renounce its defence for its ſpoil. We form ſocieties for the ſake of ſecurity; a government too weak to give it, is not worth preſerving, and yet it muſt be preſerved, if at all, by the painful watching, and at the conſtant peril of its advocates.

We have gathered the ripe fruits of experience; we have ſeen the union proſtrate; Congreſs with no more power and little more dignity than the truſtees of a charity ſchool; we have ſupported a government without having one; allegiance and protection ſaid to be reciprocal were reverſed; the government was protected, and paid homage to the States.

The queſtion on the aſſumption involves all theſe conſiderations; if the State debts are not to be paid, it is a meaſure of violence and wickedneſs that Algiers would abhor. If they are to be paid at 20*ſ.* in the pound, and the States are to tax as they think fit to do it, they muſt occupy the principal ſources of revenue; theſe partial taxes will be difficult to manage—they will be various in the States—ſyſtem will oppoſe ſyſtem—confuſion will enſue. The people will pay much and the States get little. Beſides the loſs of money, it is bringing our government back to the confederation. It is in practice what that was in theory.

Citizens of America—you have not expected another confederation—you have cheerfully adopted the conſtitution—you have freely aided the government—you have proſpered beyond example under it—your induſtry, if not obſtructed, will lead you to wealth.—Are you willing then by dividing the exerciſe of indirect taxation between Congreſs and the States, to endanger all your hopes? Revenue is power, and will not bear a partnerſhip. You will ſee revived the deadly animoſities which rival trade-laws engendered in the States; the arts will languiſh—the union will be relaxed—the graves of your heroes will be moiſtened with the blood of their brethren.—Is there in the world a government where the powers in queſtion are exerciſed in partnerſhip?—If there is, it is a bad government, and not worth what it coſts.

UNION.

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 20, 1790.

Died on Saturday night, in the 85th year of his age, the illuſtrious BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, of this city. His remains will be interred to morrow afternoon, at four o'clock, in Chriſt Church burial ground.

We are favored with the following ſhort account of Doctor Franklin's laſt illneſs, by his attending Phyſician.

THE ſtone, with which he had been afflicted for ſeveral years, had for the laſt twelve months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extreme painful paroxyſms, he was obliged to take large doſes of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—ſtill, in the intervals of pain, he not only amuſed himſelf with reading and converſing cheerfully with his family and a few friends, who viſited him, but was often employed in doing buſineſs of a public as well as a private nature, with various perſons, who waited on him for that purpoſe; and in every inſtance diſplayed, not only that readineſs and diſpoſition of doing good, which was the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of his life, but the fulleſt and cleareſt poſſeſſion of his uncommon mental abilities; and not frequently indulged himſelf in thoſe jeux d'eſprits *and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.*

About ſixteen days before his death, he was ſeized with a feveriſh indiſpoſition, without any particular ſymtoms attending it till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in his left breaſt, which increaſed till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this ſtate, when the ſeverity of his pains ſometimes drew forth a groan of complaint, he would obſerve—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful ſenſe of the many bleſſings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raiſed him, from ſmall and low beginnings, to ſuch high rank and conſideration among men—and made no doubt his preſent afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part aſſigned him.

In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themſelves with the hopes of his recovery, when an impoſthumation, which had formed itſelf in his lungs, ſuddenly burſt, and diſcharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had ſufficient ſtrength to do it, but, as that failed the organs of reſpiration became gradually oppreſſed—a calm lethargic ſtate ſucceeded—and on the 17th, about 11 o'clock at night he quietly expired, cloſing a long and uſeful life of 84 years and 3 months.

It may not be amiſs to add to the above account that Dr, Franklin, in the year 1735, had a ſevere pleuriſy, which determined in an abſceſs of the left lobe of his lungs, and he was then almoſt ſuffocated with the quantity and ſuddenneſs of the diſcharge. A ſecond attack of a ſimilar nature happened ſome years after this, from which he ſoon recovered, and did not appear to ſuffer any inconvenience in his reſpiration from theſe diſeaſes.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 12.

SUPPRESSION OF MONACHISM!

At length the mighty exploit of civil proweſs is atchieved—the national aſſembly of France, after a debate of two days, in which reaſon and eloquence combated againſt bigotry and clamor, have adopted the following memorable decree:

"The National Aſſembly decrees, as a conſtitutional article, that the law ſhall not authorize monaſtic vows from perſons of either ſex; declares in conſequence, that all religious orders which exact ſuch vows, are and ſhall for ever continue ſuppreſſed in France, to the excluſion of any ſimilar eſtabliſhments in future.

"All the religious of either ſex may, on making a declaration to their municipality, quit their cloiſter, and proper penſions ſhall be without delay provided for their ſupport, as well as houſes of retreat for thoſe who do not deſire to avail themſelves of the liberty granted.

"The Aſſembly excepts houſes charged with education or charity, until it ſhall finally decide concerning theſe objects. The nuns may remain in their own convents, the National Aſſembly expreſsly excepting them from the operation of that decree which enjoins the union of ſeveral houſes into one.

M. L'Abbe Monteſquiou was the author of the decree we have reported above, which was carried by a great majority.

Thus, in the firſt Catholic country of the world, is the axe at length laid to the root of that tree which in its baneful ſhade nouriſhed ſo many noiſome reptiles, while it withered the bloſſoms of humanity—which has ſo long impoveriſhed the nutriment of induſtry by its growth, and ſo widely darkened the views of intellect by its luxuriance.

LONDON, Febuary 10.

POPULATION.—In a late calculation it appears that there are in—

England	8,100,000 people
Scotland	1,500,000
Ireland	3,040,000
Total	12,640,000

A few days ago a young couple went to be married at Aſhton-under-Line; when the ceremony was about to commence, the lady walked out of the church; the gentleman, with much apparent eagerneſs, followed her; in the moſt tender manner, intreated her to return and make him happy, to which ſhe at length conſented. When again in the church, and at the altar, the intended bridegroom made a moſt obſequious bow, wiſhed her a good day, and left her.

A fellow at Windſor, who lately ate a cat, has given another proof of the brutality of his diſpoſition—an inſtance too ferocious and ſanguinary almoſt, to admit of public repeſentation.

He was at a public houſe at Old Windſor, one day in the courſe of laſt week, and, without apparent cauſe, walked out of the houſe, and with a bill-hook ſevered his hand from his arm. His brutal courage was ſtrongly marked in this tranſaction; for the inhuman monſter made 3 ſtrokes with the inſtrument before he could effect his purpoſe, and at laſt actually made a complete amputation. He aſſigns no other reaſon for this terrible ſelf attack, than his total diſinclination to work, and that this ſtep will compel the overſeers of his pariſh to provide for him during the remainder of his life.

The STARLING.——A SONG.

(From the Concord Gazette.)

A BEAUTEOUS Starling late I ſaw
On lovely Sylvia's hand;
To check his flight, around his leg
She ty'd a ſilken band:
In vain he flutters to be gone;
Confinement is his lot:
In vain he ſtrives to break the band—
And can't untie the knot.

Ceaſe! ceaſe! ſhe cried—here you ſhall feed;
And in my boſom reſt:
No bird that ever wing'd the air,
Was half ſo much careſs'd.
If from my hand you ſhould eſcape,
You may per chance be ſhot:
Then ceaſe to peck—'tis all in vain—
You can't untie the knot.

The Bird contented grows, at length,
While Sylvia ſtrokes his plumes;
Erects his little creſt—and ſoon
His former notes reſumes.
From what he'd heard the fair one ſay,
Theſe words by rote he got;
And oft repeated every day,
You can't untie the knot.

One ev'ning youthful Damon ſat,
With Sylvia by his ſide,;
Reward my love at laſt, ſaid he,
To-morrow be my bride.
Her bluſhes in his favor roſe;
Yet ſhe conſented not;
For ere ſhe ſpake, the Starling cried—
You can't untie the knot.

PROPOSALS,

BY

JOHN TRUMBULL,

For publiſhing by ſubſcription,

TWO PRINTS,

From *ORIGINAL PICTURES* painted by himſelf:

REPRESENTING

The DEATH of General WARREN,

At the Battle of Bunker's-Hill; and

The DEATH of General MONTGOMERY,

In the Attack of Quebec.

IN the Battle of Bunker's Hill, the following Portraits are introduced,

AMERICAN.	BRITISH.
Major General *Warren*,	General Sir *William Howe*,
Putnam,	Sir *Henry Clinton*,
	Lieut. Col. *John Small*,
	Major *Pitcairn*, and
	Lieut. *Pitcairn*.

In the Attack of Quebec, are ſeen,

General *Montgomery*, Major *Macpherſon*,
Colonel *Thompſon*, Captain *Cheeſman*.

CONDITIONS of SUBSCRIPTION.

THE Prints will be engraved by two of the moſt eminent Artiſts in Europe. The ſize will be 30 inches by 20. The price to ſubſcribers, three guineas for each print, one half to be paid at the time of ſubſcribing, the remainder on the delivery of the Prints, which will be as ſoon as the work (which is already conſiderably advanced) can poſſibly be completed.

Subſcriptions are received in America, only by Mr. Trumbull. All ſubſcription receipts will be ſigned by him, as well as by Mr. Pogg, of London; under whoſe direction the prints are engraving, and will be publiſhed.

Theſe Prints are the firſt of a ſeries, in which it is propoſed to repreſent the moſt important events of the American revolution.

No period of the hiſtory of man is more intereſting than that in which we have lived.——The memory of ſcenes in which were laid the foundations of that free government, which ſecures our national and individual happineſs, muſt remain ever dear to us, and to poſterity; and if national pride be in any caſe juſtifiable, Americans have a right to glory in having given to the world an example, whoſe influence is rapidly ſpreading the love of freedom through other nations, and every where ameliorating the condition of men.

To aſſiſt in preſerving the memory of the illuſtrious events which have marked this period of our country's glory, as well as of the men who have been the moſt important actors in them, is the object of this undertaking. Hiſtorians will do juſtice to an æra ſo important; but to be read, the language in which they write, muſt be underſtood—the language of Painting is univerſal, and intelligible in all nations, and every age.

As ſeveral years of his time, and a very conſiderable expence, are neceſſary to accompliſh this undertaking, it would be an imprudent ſacrifice to the mere hope of reputation, to go more deeply into it, without a probability of ultimate ſucceſs. That he may judge of the degree of this probability, Mr. Trumbull, by the advice of his friends, propoſes this ſubſcription, and flatters himſelf with a hope of meeting that patronage from his countrymen, which will juſtify his purſuing the object with ardor, and without which it is impoſſible that ſo expenſive a work ſhould be continued.

The ſubjects propoſed to be repreſented, in addition to the two foregoing, of Bunker's-Hill and Quebec, are

* *The* DECLARATION *of* INDEPENDENCE,
* BATTLE *at* TRENTON,
* BATTLE *of* PRINCETON,
SURRENDER *of General* BURGOYNE,
TREATY *with* FRANCE,
BATTLE *of* EUTAW SPRINGS,
* SURRENDER *of* YORK-TOWN,
TREATY *of* PEACE,
EVACUATION *of* NEW-YORK,
RESIGNATION *of General* WASHINGTON,
The ARCH *at* TRENTON:
INAUGURATION *of the* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES.

Each picture will contain Portraits of the principal characters, who were preſent at the ſcene repreſented. Thoſe marked with Stars, are conſiderably advanced—and the Prints from the whole will be executed of the ſame ſize, and by the moſt eminent engravers.

New-York, April 2, 1790.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given to all the creditors of PHILIP DENMAN, now confined in the common gaol of Newark, in the county of Eſſex, That the Honorable Court of Common Pleas, in and for ſaid county, have appointed Tueſday the 25th day of May next, for the creditors of ſaid Philip Denman, to meet at the Court houſe in Newark, at nine o'clock of the day aforeſaid, and ſhew cauſe to the judge of the ſaid Court if any they have, why an aſſignment of the ſaid inſolvent debtors eſtate ſhould not be made, and he diſcharged according to the act of the Legiſlature of New-Jerſey in ſuch caſe made and provided.

PHILIP DENMAN.

Newark, April 14, 1790.

To be SOLD,

For CERTIFICATES, Or *exchanged* for LAND,

TWENTY-Two acres of ground in the City of New-York, fronting Great George-Street, Bowry-Lane, and Greenwich-Lane. On the premiſes is a brick dwelling houſe containing ten rooms; a ſmaller brick houſe with four rooms; a houſe with a brick front with two rooms: In each houſe is a Kitchen, and under the whole four cellars; a never failing ſpring is near one of the kitchens; a frame ſtable and a coach-houſe with ſtables. From the dwelling houſe both the North and the Eaſt rivers are plain to the view. Additional improvements have been made this Spring, the ground has been laid out for pleaſure as well as for utility; it is provided with variety of orchard and other fruit; part of the land has alſo been ſown with timothy and clover. To be ſold for certificates of the national debt, which will be received at the nominal value, Dollars at 8*s.* Or for good upland, even if covered with wood, provided it is ſituated on the following rivers, or on creeks as far as navigable, communicating with the ſame, viz. At the Potowmac above Alexandria, at James River above Richmond, in South-Carolina, about one hundred miles from the ſea ſhore, on Santee Ediſto or Ponpon river, or on Savannah river. If not ſold at private ſale before the 15th of May, it will then on the above terms be diſpoſed of by Public Vendue at the merchants Coffee-Houſe.—For further particulars enquire of Mr. POELLNITZ on the premiſes. *New-York April 10, 1790.*

CASH, and a generous price given for Continental, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, and Rhode-Iſland ſecurities, of every denomination, by

EBENEZER THAYER, jun. No. 59, *Water-Street.*

New-York, April 17, 1790.

William Taylor,

Has for Sale, at his EAST-INDIA GOODS STORE, No. 4, BURLING-SLIP,

A General Aſſortment of EAST-INDIA GOODS.

Among which are the following Articles:

BOOK Muſlins	8-4 6-4 5-4	HUMHUMS,	
Jackonet	do.	Long Cloths,	
Hankerchiefs,	of various kinds,	Caſſas,	
Chintzes,		Seerſuckers,	
Ginghams,		Boglapores.	

A Variety of handſome painted MUSLINS.

With many other Articles, which will be ſold by the Piece or Package, low for caſh.